

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY NEA:ALATHERTON, JR./HLK

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 094142 TOSEC 100031

EXDIS FOR SECRETARY FROM SISCO AND ATHERTON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MASS, JO, SA, US

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: FINANCING HAWK/VULCAN AIR
DEFENSE SYSTEM FOR JORDAN (S/S 7608163)

1. WE ARE REPEATING TO YOU THE LATEST EXCHANGE OF CABLES
WITH AMBASSADORS PORTER AND PICKERING ON THIS SUBJECT,
WHICH ARE RELEVANT TO THE TWO ACTION MEMORANDA YOU HAVE
WITH YOU RECOMMENDING MESSAGES FROM YOU TO PRINCE FAHD AND
HUSSEIN.

2. THE RECENT JORDANIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD THE HAWK/VULCAN
DEAL, INCLUDING IN PARTICULAR ZAID RIFAI'S LONDON PRESS
INTERVIEW IN WHICH HE SAID THE DEAL IS DEAD, IS EXASPERAT-
ING TO SAY THE LEAST AND, AS PORTER POINTS OUT, WILL
MAKE THE SAUDIS EVEN LESS RECEPTIVE TO OUR EFFORTS TO
GET THEM TO INCREASE THEIR FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION. THERE
ARE TWO POSSIBLE INTERPRETATIONS OF THIS JORDANIAN
ATTITUDE:

--THE JORDANIANS MAY HAVE MADE A STRATEGIC DECISION TO
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DIMINISH THEIR ALMOST TOTAL DEPENDENCE ON US AND SEEK TO

PLAY A MORE INDEPENDENT ROLE IN COOPERATION WITH SYRIA.
IF THIS IS THE CASE, SUCH A DECISION WOULD BE REINFORCED
BY THEIR UNHAPPINESS WITH THE RESTRICTIONS PLACED UPON

THEIR USE OF THE HAWK MISSILES WHICH WERE NECESSARY TO
OBTAIN CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL FOR THE SALE. A FURTHER
JORDANIAN CONSIDERATION COULD BE THAT HUSSEIN IS
CONCERNED ABOUT THE LONG LEADTIME BEFORE THE HAWK/VULCAN
SYSTEM WILL BE IN PLACE, WHICH PRESUMABLY WOULD BE
SHORTENED IF HE WENT SOVIET, GIVEN HIS PESSIMISTIC
VIEW THAT THERE WILL BE RENEWED ARAB-ISRAELI HOSTILITIES
IN THE NEXT YEAR OR SO.

--ALTERNATIVELY, THE JORDANIANS (IN PARTICULAR RIFAI)
MAY BE PLAYING A HIGH STAKE GAME TO INCREASE THE
PRESSURES ON THE SAUDIS AND US TO FINANCE THE ENTIRE
AIR DEFENSE SYSTEM THEY HAVE CONTRACTED FOR.

3. PICKERING'S JUDGMENT IS THAT HUSSEIN STILL WANTS
THE AMERICAN SYSTEM BUT IS PREPARED TO TAKE SOVIET
EQUIPMENT RATHER THAN A DRASTIC REDUCTION IN THE PACKAGE
AGREED UPON. PICKERING THINKS THAT HUSSEIN BELIEVES
HE CAN STILL MANAGE HIS U.S. RELATIONSHIP EVEN IF HE
GOES FOR THE SOVIET SYSTEM.

4. WHICHEVER OF THE FOREGOING HYPOTHESES IS CORRECT,
WE BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT TO MAKE THE RECORD CLEAR WITH
BOTH THE JORDANIANS AND THE SAUDIS THAT WE HAVE MADE
AN ALL-OUT EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE FUNDING PROBLEM,
AND TO LEAVE THEM IN NO DOUBT ABOUT THE SERIOUS LONG-
RUN CONSEQUENCES IF HUSSEIN DECIDES TO ACQUIRE A SOVIET
SYSTEM. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT TO SEND
THE TWO MESSAGES WE HAVE RECOMMENDED FROM YOU TO FAHD
AND HUSSEIN. PORTER EXPECTS TO SEE FAHD SOME TIME
BETWEEN MONDAY AND WEDNESDAY AND, IF YOU AGREE TO SEND
THE MESSAGE, HE SHOULD HAVE IT IN HAND BY THEN;

5. PORTER ALSO POINTS OUT (JIDDA 2781) THAT IT WOULD
HELP HIM IF THE JORDANIANS WOULD RETRACT THE STATEMENTS
ABOUT THE DEAL BEING DEAD AND WOULD TELL THE SAUDIS THEY
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ARE STILL INTERESTED IN SAUDI ASSISTANCE, EITHER THROUGH
A PHONE CALL TO FAHD OR A MESSAGE PASSED THROUGH US.
WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD MAKE AN EFFORT WITH THE JORDANIANS
TO GET THEM TO DO THIS AND RECOMMEND FOR YOUR APPROVAL
THE FOLLOWING INSTRUCTION TO PICKERING.

6. BEGIN TEXT:

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IMMEDIATE AMMAN

INFO: IMMEDIATE JIDDA

EXDIS FOR AMBASSADOR FROM SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MASS, JO, SA, US

SUBJECT: HAWKS FOR JORDAN

REF: JIDDA 2781

WE HAVE REPEATED TO YOU JIDDA REFTEL, IN WHICH AMBASSADOR PORTER MAKES VALID POINT THAT IT WOULD HELP HIM IN HIS APPROACH TO SAUDIS ON HAWK FINANCING IF JORDANIANS WOULD (A) DENY OR RETRACT PRESS REPORTS (ABOUT AIR DEFENSE DEAL BEING DEAD) ATTRIBUTED TO KING AND RIFAI, AND (B) WOULD TELEPHONE FAHD TO EXPRESS THEIR CONTINUED INTEREST IN SAUDI ASSISTANCE OR (C) GIVE US A MESSAGE TO THIS EFFECT TO PASS TO THE SAUDIS.

YOU SHOULD INFORM KING AND RIFAI THAT AMBASSADOR PORTER HOPES TO SEE PRINCE FAHD EARLY THIS WEEK IN FURTHER ALL-OUT EFFORT TO OBTAIN AN INCREASE IN SAUDI FUNDING FOR AIR DEFENSE SYSTEM. RECENT PUBLIC STATEMENTS INDICATING THAT JORDANIANS HAVE GIVEN UP ON HAWK DEAL AND ARE NO LONGER INTERESTED HAVE UNDERSTANDABLY CAUSED CONSIDERABLE CONFUSION AND CAN ONLY DIMINISH EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR EFFORTS WITH SAUDIS. IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT,
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THEREFORE, IF HIS MAJESTY COULD INFORM PRINCE FAHD PRIOR TO AMBASSADOR PORTER'S MEETING WITH HIM THAT JORDANIANS DO IN FACT REMAIN INTERESTED IN PURCHASING AMERICAN AIR DEFENSE SYSTEM WITH SAUDI FINANCING. WE CANNOT, OF COURSE, GUARANTEE SUCCESS OF OUR EFFORTS WITH SAUDIS, BUT IT WOULD BE MOST UNFORTUNATE IF THOSE EFFORTS FAILED BECAUSE SAUDIS WERE LEFT UNDER THE IMPRESSION, WHICH THEY MUST NOW HAVE, THAT JORDANIANS ARE IN FACT NO LONGER INTERESTED.

END TEXT.

7. RECOMMENDATION:

A. THAT YOU APPROVE THE RECOMMENDED MESSAGE TO PRINCE

FAHD. (S/S NO. 7607740)

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

B. THAT YOU APPROVE THE RECOMMENDED MESSAGE TO KING
HUSSEIN. (S/S NO. 7607809)

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

C. THAT YOU APPROVE THE ABOVE INSTRUCTION TO PICKERING.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

8. DRAFTED:NEA:ALATHERTON APPROVED:P:JJSISCO
CLEARED: S:P. BARBIAN

ROBINSON

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NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, FINANCE, AIR DEFENSE, NEGOTIATIONS, MILITARY SALES, MISSILES
Control Number: S7608163
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 17 APR 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ElyME
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE094142
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: ALATHERTON, JR./HLK
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760147-0224
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760449/aaaabpid.tel
Line Count: 186
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ElyME
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <17 MAY 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <10 SEP 2004 by ElyME>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ACTION MEMORANDUM: FINANCING HAWK/VULCAN AIR DEFENSE SYSTEM FOR JORDAN (S/S 7608163)
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Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006